

THE SECOND
COLLECTION
OF
CATO'S
Political Letters
IN THE
LONDON JOURNAL,
Continued to the End of
January, 1720.

(Price One Shilling)

Journal of the
Loyalty of
the
United States
in
the
Revolutionary
War

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L O N D O N :

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The SECOND
COLLECTION
O F
C A T O'S
Political LETTERS
IN THE
London Journal.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,

Dec. 24, 1720.

THERE is not in Politicks a more established Rule than this; That, when a corrupt and wicked Ministry intend to pillage a Nation, they make use of vile and contemptible Instruments, to gather in their Plunder, and allow the Miscreants Part of it; and when the Cry for Justice becomes strong and universal, they always hang up their faithful Rogues. By this means they stop the Peoples Mouths, and yet keep the Money.

B

But

But They act by no Rule of good Policy, but are, in Truth, chargeable with Folly, or rather with Phrenzy, who dream that they can prevent this Cry, by the Means that first raised it, and by Means that will ever produce it. As well might they attempt to prevent the spreading of a Deluge, by damming it up; which would prove the direct Method to make a whole Country its Conquest; for it will then know no Bounds, but bear down Men, Beasts, and Cities, before it; whereas its Force and Mischief are easily prevented, if proper Channels are opened for it, and its Torrent is skilfully directed.

The simple Multitude, when most provoked, are easily appeas'd, if they have but Fuel for their Rage: They will scarce feel their Miseries, if they do but fancy that Justice is done upon the Authors of their Miseries. And whatever they suffer, the hanging of a few *sorry Rascals*, who were but the working Tools of a few *Greater*, will hush all the Tumult of their Spirits, and reconcile them to Patience and Wretchedness.

This Expedient, therefore, to please them, is constantly practis'd by all *wise Traytors*, and *able Oppressors*. But when, thro' the Ignorance of their *Pillagers*, the Course of Justice is entirely stopt, and the abused enraged People can have no Remedy, either *real* or *imaginary*, nor one Victim to their Fury, they will naturally and necessarily look *higher*; and who can foresee where their Vengeance will end?

If a Pyrate, who robs upon the Sea, is hang'd for his Robbery, every Body is satisfied with the Death of the Offender: But if the Action is avow'd, and he produces a Commission, the State that gave it becomes answerable.

All these Secrets in Government were excellently understood by Queen *Elizabeth's* Ministry, out of whose History I have therefore copied the following Passage, and the following Speech.

' The

The Queen, upon her Return from a Progress, held a Parliament at *Westminster*; wherein, among other Things, several good Laws were made for the Relief of the Poor, and of maimed and disabled Soldiers and Seamen; against fraudulent Guardians and Trustees, the Cheats and Impositions of Clothiers, and the Robberies and Outrages committed upon the Borders of the Kingdom towards *Scotland*. But whereas great Complaints were made in the Lower-House, relating to the *Engrossing Practice*: (for it seems there were some, who, under the Colour of Publick Good, but, in reality, to the great Damage of the Kingdom, had got the Queen's Letters Patents, for the sole Privilege and Liberty of vending some particular Sorts of Wares) The Queen therefore, to forestall them, published a Proclamation, declaring those Grants to be *null* and *void*; and also left them to be try'd at Common Law. A Method which was so acceptable to the Lower-House, that Eighty of that Body were appointed to wait upon her Majesty with their humble Thanks, which the Speaker was to present in the Name of them all. She received them very graciously, and gave her Answer in the following Speech.

Gentlemen,

I Owe you my best Thanks and Acknowledgments for your Respect towards me; not only for your good Inclination, but those clear and publick Expressions thereof, which have discovered themselves in retrieving me from a Mistake, into which I have been betrayed, not so much by the *Fault of my Will*, as the *Error of my Judgment*. This had unavoidably drawn a *Blemish* upon me, (*who account the Safety of my People my chief Happiness*) had you not made me acquainted with the Practice of these *lewd Harpies and Horse-leeches*. I would sooner loose my Heart or Hand, than ever consent to

allow such *Privileges* to *Engrossers*, as may turn to the Detriment of my People. I am not so blinded with the Lustre of a Crown, as to let the Scale of Justice be weighed down by that of an Arbitrary Power. The gay Title of a Prince may deceive such as know nothing of the Secret of Governing ; as a gilded Pill may impose upon the Patient : But I am not one of those *unwary Princes* ; for I am very sensible, that I ought to govern for the *Publick Good*, and not to regard *my own Particular* ; and that I stand accountable to another, a greater Tribunal : I account myself very happy, that, by God's Assistance, I have enjoy'd so *prosperous a Government* in all respects, and that he has blessed me with such Subjects, for whom I could be contented to lay down my Crown and Life. I must entreat you, that let *Others* be guilty of what *Faults* or *Misdemeanors* soever, they may not, thro' any Misrepresentation, be laid at my Door. I hope the Evidence of a good Conscience will, in all respects, bear me out. You cannot be ignorant, that the *Servants of Princes* have, too often, an Eye to their *own Advantage* ; that their *Faults are often concealed* from their Notice ; and that they cannot, if they would, inspect all Things, when the Weight and Business of a whole Kingdom lies on their Shoulders.

Here is a Speech, worthy of the Occasion, worthy a wise Prince, worthy of a free People ; a Speech that has *Truth*, and *Sense*, and *Spirit* in it. We may be sure, from the Frankness and Vigour of it, that the Ministers who advised it were no Sharers in the Guilt and Oppression of which it complains : If they had, they would have chosen Words more faint and equivocal ; they would have shuffled in their Assertions ; they would have talked more cowardly ; and they would have kept off from Particulars : They could not have hid their Guilt and Fears. But here

here their Boldness is the Effect of their Innocence, and prompted by it.

Her Majesty frankly owns, that she was *drawn* into an Error; but that it was only an Error of her Judgment, she makes manifest by her Alacrity and Forwardness to punish those *Harpies* and *Horse-Leeches*, who, in her Name, had abused the Publick: She owns it just, that those *Engavers* should suffer: She owns that the Art and End of Reigning, is to advance the *Publick Good*; and when that Good is not attained, she consigns to Punishment those *Rooks* and *Traytors*, thro' whose Fault it is not attained. She owns she has been abused by her *Servants*; who, under her Authority, and in the Name of the Law, had sought their own vile Advantages; and she removes from herself all *Guilt*, by giving up the *Guilt*.

Happy Queen! happy in her own Qualifications; happy in those of her Counsellors! But wise and good as she was, she could not have talked thus, if her Ministry had been weak or wicked: Had this been her Misfortune, in spite of her Sincerity, Wisdom and Resolution, her Speech would have been *false, faint, and silly*. But her Counsellors were able and faithful, and made *England* prosper; and, if we except some Rebellions, and some Persecutions, both the Doings of hot-headed Bigots, her People saw nothing during her whole Reign but Felicity and Sunshine.

This has entailed Blessings upon her Memory, and Praise upon that of her Counsellors: And indeed, the *Happiness* or *Misery* of a People will always be the certain Measure of the *Glory* or *Infamy* of their *Rulers*, whenever such Happiness or Misery is evidently deducible from their Management.

The above Passage out of Queen *Elizabeth's* History, I thought not impertinent to our present Times: Her People had suffered from *Harpies*

pies and Horse-Leches. This shews, that the Corruption had not reached the Court ; the Hands of her Ministers were clean, else her Speech would have taken another Turn.

Has *England* suffered less, in this our Day, from *Harpies* and *Horse-Leches*? Surely no ; —— All our *Losses*, *Pillages* and *Oppressions*, since the Conquest, do not ballance the present great Calamity : From a Profusion of all Things, we are reduced to a Want of every Thing : Heaven avert the Pestilence, and the Famine ! —— I am afraid the latter begins to be sorely felt by many Thousands of our Poor, and even the Rich complain that they can hardly find Money to buy Bread.

And shall not our *Harpies* be given up ? Shall not their Blood and Money make an undone Nation some small Amends for their heavy Dpredations and matchless Villany ? Certainly they must : From a Ministry as able, and as innocent, as that of Queen *Elizabeth*, we may expect the Behaviour and publick Spirit of Queen *Elizabeth's* Ministry : Having no Part of the Guilt of *Harpies*, they cannot dread the Vengeance due to *Harpies* ; they have not raised out of their Country's Calamities, Fortunes great as those Calamities ; they have no Discoveries to dread ; they have no Guilt to hide ; they have not conspired with *Harpies*.

I am,

Your old Friend,

C A T O.

To

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,

Dec. 31, 1720.

THE most successful Deluders and Oppressors of Mankind have always acted in Masquerade ; and when the blackest Villanies are meant, the most opposite Spirit is pretended. Vice acts with Security, and often with Reputation, under the Veil of Virtue.

Hence Atheists have set up for the greatest Piety ; and, to cover their own real want of it, have cruelly burn'd those who really had it. The most merciless Tyrants have, in the midst of Oppression, set up for the Patrons of *Liberty* ; and, while their Hands were deep in Blood, impudently adopted the Title of *Clemency* : And *Publick Liberty* has almost always been given up by those, who pass'd for the Patrons of *Publick Liberty*.

The cheating religious Orders of the Church of *Rome* gain the greatest Wealth, by a Profession of the strictest Poverty. The *Popish Inquisitors*, while they deliver over to the Flames a poor Wretch, already half dead with Fears, Famine and Torture, beseech and adjure the Civil Magistrate, who must see it done, by the *Love of God, and the Bowels of Jesus Christ*, not to hurt his Life or Limb. And our *Tory Inquisitors* began their *Occasional Bill* with a Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*; tho' the Purpose of them, and their Bill, was to destroy all *Liberty of Conscience*.

Companies and Joint-Stocks are always established for the Encouragement and Benefit of Trade ; tho' they always happen to marr and cramp Trade : The *Peerage-Bill* was to be granted as a Favour to the Commons of *England*, by cutting off the Commons of *England* from all Right to Peerage : And some People, to save Charges to *England*, are for giving up *Gibraltar*, which

which is of such Advantage to *England*; being the Security of all our Trade. *Sweden* was once to be destroyed, to preserve the Ballance of Power in the *North*; and now *Sweden* must be defended, for the very same Reason.

When certain Chiefs were at mortal Odds, one Side opposing (at all Adventures) whatever the other projected, it was thought convenient to both Sides to come to Terms; for one Party wanted to fill their Coffers, and the other to save their Bacon. However, the Good of the Publick was their sole Aim: They, *Good Men!* sought no Personal Advantages, tho' they have since got considerable ones: *But we must believe their Sayings notwithstanding their Doings.*

Stock-jobbing too must be declared against, whilst the greatest Stock-jobbing is promoting. Last Year a *South-Sea Project* was to be established to pay off the National Debts; and now a Project is said to be in Embryo, to remit the greatest Part of the Debt due to the Nation by the *South-Sea*: And if so, the whole Nation is to suffer this general Loss, out of mere Pity to a small Part of the Nation. Twelve Months ago forty Millions was not too much to be trusted with one Company, high in Credit, and its Reputation hoisted up by publick Authority: But now, when they are Bankrupt and Undone, and when their Directors and Undertakers are universally hated and detested; it is to be fear'd, it seems, that they will become too formidable, if all the Stock subscribed into them, be continued with them.

There is, therefore, I am told, a Project on foot, in *Exchange-Alley*, to deliver up the Nation to *Three Companies*; and to let them divide us, *their Cully*, among them. In order to prevail upon these Three *Great Societies* to accept us as a *Prest*, to be used as they think fit, I humbly presume we must behave ourselves as follows: We can do no less than sacrifice the poor half-

half-starv'd Manufactures to one of them, and oblige ourselves to lay no Restraint upon India Calicoes, &c. We must also confirm the Clause, which makes that Society perpetual. New Trades, more Monopolizes, and fresh Privileges, must be given to another Great and Virtuous Company, which has made such good Use of the Old: And the Bank of England, which long preserv'd its Integrity, must be bought into the Conspiracy; and, without doubt, something more must be given them, perhaps the Increase of their Term.

Now, if this mighty Project, this noble Design, can be accomplished; I suppose every one will see, or be prevail'd upon to see, the absolute Necessity why all past Errors, and former Management, should be forgot; because Publick Credit, which depends upon Temper and Moderation, must not be interrupted by ill-timed Enquiries, nor disturb'd by publick Vengeance—How finely we are to be disposed of; and how safe it is to provoke us!

The Projectors of such a Publick Good must deserve well from their Country; and I will give City-Security that they shall be no Losers by it. Where is the Wonder, or ill Policy of the Plunderers and Dishonourers of the Nation, if the Betrayers of their Trust should keep a little ill gotten Wealth, to preserve the Publick Peace? Without doubt, they will give large Shares of their Prey to those who have Power to let them keep the rest; and will readily help their Projectors and Coadjutors with their Honest Skill and Endeavours, to form new Projects, to get as much as They have done.

There lives in a certain Kingdom, a certain Gentleman, of no mean Importance thereat present, who was Agent to one who had the Custodijum of a forfeited Estate there, worth Twelve Thousand Pound a Year; and when he gave in his Account to his Successors, brought the Estate some Hundreds of Pounds in Debt to himself. The

other resented this with some menacing Expressions, but could get no other Answer from him, but that he would abide by his Account : However, says he, *If you will be DISCREET, I will help you to the Man that helped me to this Account.*

But what now, if, after all, there should be a little Jobb in a Corner ; and if any Gentleman, of remarkable Merit, should have Amends made him for his Services, Sufferings and Losses of late Years ? Why there is nothing uncommon in it ; for, *who will serve the Lord for nought ?* This certainly can be no Reason for rejecting a Project, which will restore publick Credit, fill the Alley again, raise South-Sea Stock to Three or Four Hundred, and help the present Proprietors to new Bubbles ; without doing any other Mischief, than that of ruining a few Thousand Families more, and *of not paying off the Nation's Debts.*

These, I confess, are potent Reasons ; and will, without doubt, have their due Weight with all Persons interested : But, for myself, who am so unfortunate as often to differ from my *Bettters* ; I can find nothing in this Proposal, which has any Tendency to held the present Company, or to raise Credit, in any Respect ; or to retrieve us from our great and National Calamities ; but, on the contrary, to plunge the Publick inevitably into irretrievable Ruin, by making it impossible, by any Medium in Nature, but that of a *Spunge*, to discharge our National Burthens : It will, besides, deprive us of our only colourable Pretence, which could justify or excuse the late dreadful Scheme ; and which, I believe, I may safely say, was the only Pretence ever offered to excuse it. I think it will be Lifting the *Three Great Companies*, with all the money'd Interest in *England*, against *England* ; and will, at last, reduce, and even force, all Parties not to oppose what I dread to name, and tremble to think of.

The Project above-mention'd is calculated, we are told, for the Advantage of the *South-Sea*, and for

for the Improvement of their Stock ; and, in Order to this, a great Part of that Stock is to be given away to the *Bank of England*, and the *E—I—Company* ; without any apparent Consideration to themselves, or any other Use to the Publick, than the uniting the Three great Companies in one Interest ; and consequently, the forming such a potent Conspiracy against the whole Kingdom, as nothing but a total Confusion of all Things can dissolve. *O Companies, Companies ! ye Bane of Honesty, and Ruin of Trade ; but the Market of Jobbers, the Harvest of Managers, and the Tools of Knaves, and of Traytors !*

It is proposed that the *South-Sea* is to give the *Bank* an Hundred and Twenty Pounds for every Hundred Pound of Stock in the *Bank* ; which Stock is said to be but barely worth Ninety Pounds ; even tho' we should suppose that they had never divided any of their *Principal* : which, whether they have done it, or not, no Body but themselves can know. But, at this Rate, however, they must divide, whenever they are paid off by the Government.

But we are told, that they are to be let also into the Profits of *Banking* ; from which Profits, 'tis said, that they are enabled to divide Three *per Cent.* upon the Old *Capital*, besides the Five *per Cent.* paid them by the Government : But, even upon this Foot, the greater their Capital is, the less they will be able to divide : and consequently, when Nine Millions are added to their Old *Capital*, they will not be able to divide much above One *per Cent.* which is not the Interest of the Money paid in Difference between Ninety, which is the real Value, and an Hundred and Twenty, which is the nominal Value.

Besides, there is no probability that the *Bank* can continue to make, for the future, the same Gain of Banking as heretofore. The Trafficking in publick Tallies, from whence that Gain chiefly

arose, will be at an End, unless there be new Funds given, and new Debts contracted.

The Contract proposed by these People, to be made with the other *Company*, is still worse; for, there they are to give a Hundred and Twenty Pounds, for a Hundred Pound *Nominal Stock*, which is said to be suspected to be worth very little; some Men being of the Opinion, that the greatest Part of the Ten *per Cent.* divided for some Years past, has been pocketed out of other People's Money, borrow'd by the Company upon their Bonds: And yet for this choice Bargain, they are to give Six Hundred Thousand Pounds in present, and subject Nine Hundred Thousand Pounds more to be disposed of, according to the Pleasure, Skill, and *Honesty* of the present Directors. A pretty Sum, and doubtless set apart to answer and accomplish some lovely Jobb, which will appear in proper Time, and by which the Projectors of the Scheme I dare say will be no Losers!

'Tis said too, that the Trade of this Company may be enlarged; I suppose they mean, by bringing in more *Indian Manufactures*, to the Ruin of our own.

Now all this we are given to understand is for the sole Benefit of the *South-Sea*; and if they have not Sense to conceive it aright, a worse Thing may befall them: We all know, what *Directors* and their *old Patrons* carry Halters about their Necks, though they have Millions in their Pockets; and who would not give away a little of other People's Money, to save a great deal of their own, with their Lives into the Bargain? —— A special Set of *Traytors*, to negotiate for the very Being of a Kingdom!

But I must tell all these Forgers of Schemes, and Inventors of Grievances, that the Nation, exhausted by past Projects, cannot bear new ones, nor furnish out more Millions to glut more *Harpies*. The want of Bread, long felt by the Poor, begins now to be felt by the Rich. The Purses there-

therefore of the New *Conspirators* must be filled out of the Extortions and Depredations of the Old, or remain empty ; they may rack their Invention, sift every Topick of Knavery, and toss and change their Projects as much, and as long as they please, but we know that nothing but plain Honesty can ever save us ; and to those who would practise Honesty, plain Speech is best. Let us honestly hang up those that have deceived and undone us, and let us beware of new *Deceivers* and new *Destroyers* : Let us, with a Severity equal to our Distress, examine what the *Directors* and their *Masters* have embezzled, and lost to their Country, by their merciless Villany and consuming Avarice ; and let us have the only Satisfaction they can make us, their *Lives*, and their Estates : Let, afterwards, a fair Valuation be made of their present Capital, and let all the World know it ; that the Purchaser may buy solid Substance, and not a fleeting Shadow. This is the honest Way to restore Credit again ; this will prevent the roguish Part of Stock-Jobbing ; and this will throw the remaining Money into Trade once more.

But what, *may some say*, if we should give away from the *South-Sea Company* some Millions to make new Friends, and to save our old Friends, so long as we can make that Company amends out of the Publick, for such a Loss ? A thing easily done ! --- It is only giving them back again the Seven Millions already due by them to the Publick ; or at least the greatest Part of those Seven Millions, as the same stand secured upon Forty Millions ; and if we do this, behold the Advantage that will accrue from it ! We will then be under no Necessity of hanging our Countrymen, or calling up any to disgorge their honest Gains : Besides, it is to be hoped that this Proposal will be back'd with such *powerful Motives*, as to meet with little Opposition.

This

This calls to my Mind a Comparison, which I have been for some Time very apt to make, between the *French Projectors*, and those of another Country which I know. The first Plunder for the *Publick*; the other plunder *the Publick*: The one robs Part of the People for the Whole People; the other robs the Whole People for a small Part of the People.

This Comparison may be the Subject of another Letter to you, if you think fit to print this.

I am, S I R,

Your Humble Servant,

BRUTUS.

To the Author of the *London Journal*.

S I R,

Jan. 3. 1720.

When we compare one Nation with another, and ballance the Power of both, we are not to consider *alone* the Number of People, or the Wealth diffused among the People; though *Number* and *Wealth* are undoubtedly the first Elements of Power in a Common-wealth; no more than we are to consider the meer Extent of Territory, or the meer Fertility of Soil: But we are chiefly to consider, how much of that Wealth can be brought together, how it may be most frugally manag'd, and how most skilfully apply'd to the publick Emoluments and Defence.

If in taxing *Labour* and *Manufactures*, we exceed a certain Proportion, we discourage Industry, and destroy that *Labour* and those *Manufactures*. The like may be said of Trade and Navigation; they will bear but limited Burthens: And we find by Experience, that when higher Duties are laid,

laid, the Product is not encreased ; but the Trade is lost, or the Goods are run.

Nor can more be extorted from the *Gentleman* and *Freeholder*, than he can spare from the Support of his Family, in a Way suitable to his former Condition.

When Impositions exceed these Bounds, the History of all Ages will convince us, that their Produce is only Bitterness, Murmurings, universal Discontents ; and their End, generally Rebellion, and an Overthrow of the then present Establishment, or of publick Liberty.

If therefore one State, for *Example*, possessed of five times as much true, but scattered Wealth, as another State, cannot for all that, from a Defect in its Constitution, collect so much from the People as the poorer State can ; or, if when collected, does yet trust the same to the Disposal of *Blood-suckers* and *Traytors*, who intercept the National Wealth, and divert it to private Purposes ; or if it is appropriated, before it is raised, to the Payment of former Debts ; or if it is embezzled in Pensions and Sallaries to mercenary Men for traitorous Ends ; Then is such a State really weaker than the other poorer State, and less capable of defending itself against the other, so much its inferior in outward Shew and intrinsick Power.

This was the State of *Spain* for near two hundred Years ; *Spain*, the Mistress of so many Nations, and of a new *World*, richer in Silver and Gold than the Old ; *Spain*, that from terrifying all Christendom with Chains, and from threatening all *Europe* with universal Slavery ; reduced itself, by mortgaging its publick Revenues, to such a despicable Condition, that we have seen in our Days, that once formidable Kingdom contended for, by two small Armies of Foreigners, within its own Bowels : In which Contest, the *Natives* themselves were little more than Spectators ; as is very justly observed by the Author of a Pamphlet, printed last Year, and written with a Spirit, which

which I pretend not to imitate. Had that Pamphlet been generally read, and well weighed, it would have prevented most of the Mischiefs we now lamentably labour under. It is entitled, *Considerations upon the State of the Publick Debts in general, and of the Civil List in particular.* I would recommend it to the Reading of every one, who is not ashamed of being an honest Man.

It is certain, that all the powerful Nations of Europe, who were Parties to the two last bloody and expensive Wars, were reduced by mortgaging their publick Revenues, to the same low and abject Condition ; and nothing saved any one of them from all the rest, but that all the rest were in the same State of Impotence and Distress. They were all miserably weak. That People therefore, who can soonest discharge their publick Burthens, will give Laws to the rest, and either reduce them to Subjection and Vassalage, or to a Necessity of seizing their mortgaged Eunds.

There are in the World but two Ways of clearing a Nation of its publick Engagements: The one is by paying them off; and the other is, not to pay them at all. When one cannot be practised, a small Skill in Politicks will tell us, that the other must.

It is a Jest for any Man to flatter himself, that any State will not save the whole People, by the Ruin of a Part of the People; when the Ruin of a Part is absolutely necessary to the Preservation of the Whole. This Consideration should, methinks, be worth the Attention of the Gentlemen Inhabitants of the Alley. In truth, nothing would exercise their Thoughts more, were it not that every one hopes to save one, by biting another into a hard and Knavish Bargain. *Will Men never have done Hoping?* They forget how they were caught last Year in the South-Sea, with all their Hopes and their Wisdom about them.

It is doubtless the last Misfortune to a Nation, to be beholden to a Spunge for the Payment of its

its Debts ; such a Necessity must be a heavy Necessity, attended with many sorrowful Circumstances, and much sore Distress. Nothing but the certain Fear of foreign Force, or domeslick Tyrariny can justify it. But every great Calamity is eligible, in comparison of a greater. Every Person, therefore, who is a Creditor to his Country, and has Demands upon the Publick, is nearly concerned to prevent such great and personal, and indeed general Misery ; which cannot be at all prevented, but by putting the National Debts into a Method of being honourably discharged. This is the Concern of every honest Man ; this ought to be the Care of every worthy Citizen ; and this will be the Task of every *guiltless* Great Man.

All *innocent Men* throughout the *World* find a *private Blessing* in the general Felicity of the Publick ; and none but *mean Patriots*, who foolishly or deliberately can lead Kingdoms into Ruin ; those desperate hard-hearted *Parricides*, who can wantonly suck out the Vitals of their Country, whose Fortunes are often the Plunder of the Publick, and whose Creatures are Conspirators, hired against the Publick ; I say, none but *Traytors* can find private Joy in publick Confusion, or their own Security in the Slavery of their Country. Those, 'tis true, who earn Vengeance by committing mighty Crimes, would doubtless go on to resemble themselves, and to avoid it, if they could, by committing Crimes still more mighty. If any amongst us should be capable of practising such great Wickednes to get enormous Wealth, such Persons, if not prevented, might still practise greater to keep it. A Fox pursued by the full Cry of the Hounds, will run into the Dog-Kennel for Shelter ; as at the Battle of *La Hogue*, the *French Fleet* fled thro' the *Race of Aldernly*, and ventured Rocks and Shelves to escape from the conquering Enemy.

It is a Folly, and indeed an Infatuation, in any Persons interested in the Publick Funds, to form any Schemes, or to fall into any Schemes for increasing those Funds, or continuing them, any longer than is absolutely necessary to pay them their Debts: When our neighbouring Nations have cleared *theirs*, we too must clear *ours*, or we are undone. 'Tis said indeed a Revolution in Government would certainly and effectually do it, and do it at once; and this I take to be the true reason why so many unthinking Men appear to wish it; tho' I hope it is in vain. God avert so dreadful a Catastrophe!

Spain has already discharged itself of its publick Burthens, by a general Sweep: And behold the Effect of this; it again shews its Head in the World; and again it carries its Armies into new Countries. *Holland* lies still, free from new Broils, and fresh Expence: It politically pleads Poverty: It takes all Ways in its Power to recover its Losses; and questionless laughs in its Sleeve to see another Nation grow more mad, and more in Debt every Year; to see it every Year mortgaging new Revenues, and every Year engaging in wild Wars, to support those Interests of a State of no Concernment to that Nation.

But the most terrible Instance of all, is that of *France*: That Government, tho' to the Ruin of great Multitudes of other People, has almost, if not quite got rid of its Incumbrances and Engagements. The whole Wealth of that great Kingdom is now got into the Hands of the Publick. From which formidable Situation of theirs, is there not room to fear, that as soon as the present Confusion is a little abated, they will renew their Designs for Empire, and throw Europe into Arms again? This is an alarming Reflection! And what do the Gentlemen of the Alley expect from us, under such an ill-boding Circumstance? Trade is already burthened as much as it can bear, and perhaps more than it ought to bear:

There

There is scarce a Commodity that can be tax'd, but is already tax'd. We are mark'd, we are mortgag'd from Head to Foot. They do not surely expect that the Parliament will give ten Shillings in the Pound upon Land; or that it could be raised if they did.

What therefore are we to do in such a calamitous Case? Are we to save ourselves at the Expence of the Gentlemen of the Alley? Or are we to perish together with them? The Choice is easy. Can they be so weak as to form a pretended *Necessity*, to bring their Country into such unhappy Circumstances; and yet not fear that wise and honest Men may take Advantage of a real *Necessity*, to get out of such unhappy Circumstances?

There is but one thing to be done, to save themselves and their Country together; and that is, to put the Debts into a Method of being certainly and speedily paid off. The present Establishment may be saved, tho' *they* are undone: But if, thro' Folly or Knavery, the Establishment sinks, they must sink with it. I hope therefore they will not be decoyed into any traitorous Designs of desperate Men; Men, whose Characters are but faintly expressed by that of *Parricides*; Men, who had they studied the Art of making us miserable, could not have been more accomplished in their Trade, nor boast of compleater Success. Where is our Trade, by which we so long flourished? It is lost. Where is our Publick Faith, once our own Boast, and the Envy of foreign Nations? It is fled; and one Man has no longer any Faith in another. Where is our Money? Where are our current Millions? The People have none. —— The most part find it hard to buy Bread, and many find it impossible. Every Man you meet complains that he is undone. All our Coin is engrossed, pocketed by vile *Jubbers*, and their *Promoters* and *Confederates*; the Publick Robbers, who, to keep what they have

got, and to escape deserved Punishment (*if such Punishment can possibly be found*) would deliver up the Wealth and Power of *England*, into the griping and polluted Hands of a new Conspiracy of Stock-jobbers, worse than the *last*, by being more numerous and potent. With these they would combine for common Defence, and for publick Destruction ; with these, contrive new Ways to enlarge our Miseries, shorten our Enjoyments still more, and grind us still smaller ; with these, they would form into such a Confederacy against their common Country, and against common Honesty, as would mock even the Endeavours of a Legislature to dissolve it. *Good God !* what implacable Men ! thus mercifully bent to ruin the very Ruins of their Country.

What *Briton*, blessed with any Sense of Virtue, or with *common* Sense ; what *Englishman*, animated with a publick Spirit, or with any Spirit, but must burn with Rage and Shame, to behold the *Nobles and Gentry* of a great Kingdom ; Men of Magnanimity ; Men of Breeding ; Men of Understanding, and of Letters ; to see such Men bowing down, like *Joseph's Sheaves*, before the Face of a dirty *Stock-jobber*, and receiving Laws from Men bred behind Counters, and the Decision of their Fortunes, from Hands still dirty with sweeping Shops !

Surely we shall never suffer this to be our Case, and therefore shall never see it. It is ridiculous to think that a Nation, free as we are, and bold by being so, will ever submit to such Indignities : It is therefore easy to foresee, if once we foolishly take the *first* Step, what will necessarily be the *next*. One Oppression cannot be supported but by another, and a greater ; and Force and Violence alone can do what Reason cannot and will not do. These Hardships will produce new Wants, and new Necessities for Money ; which Money, if such Men can have their Will, will only

only be to be had from these Companies, and from them only, upon hard Conditions, and in exchange for new Privileges, still tending to the Detriment of general Trade, and ending in the total Ruin of the Nation.

The Nation will be provoked in Proportion as it is distressed ; ill Usage will be returned with Rage : And then, I doubt not, when these Projectors have rendred the People distracted, they will tell us that it will not be safe to venture them with another *Election*. They will do every thing in their Power to make the Kingdom disaffected ; and then urge that Disaffection as a good reason not to trust them.

This Conduct will produce necessarily more and higher Discontents ; Discontents will make Armies necessary ; Armies will inflame those Discontents still more vehemently. I dare think no further — But sure there is no one who loves King *GEORGE* and his Government, but will endeavour to prevent these dismal Mischiefs, before it is too late.

No Man living laments the Calamities brought upon his Country more than I do those brought upon mine : And yet I freely own, that I think the paying off the Nation's Debts, and restoring, by that Means, the Kingdom to its Power, its Grandeur, and its Security again, was an End worth all the Evils which we have yet suffered ; an End which ought, if possible, to have been purchased with greater than we have yet suffered, if it could not otherwise have been purchas'd. I think it ought to have been done, tho' attended with many ill Circumstances ; and might have been done even upon those hard Terms, with Justice to private Men, and Honour to the Nation. We are not a People without it ; nor is it worth while to dispute about the best Cabbin in a Ship that is sinking.

This Prospect gave me some Pleasure, and some Relief to my Thoughts, made anxious by the

the melancholly and importunate Clamours of Thousands and Ten Thousands of my distressed Countrymen : But when I was told that a *Project* was form'd by Men of Figure, Power, and Fortune, to give back all, and the only Advantage which we were to reap, or could reap from so many Miseries ; and which could alone palliate or excuse such a wild and desperate Attempt ; and which was ever offer'd, or can yet be suggested by the wisest Men in behalf of it ; I confess I was seized with Horror and Confusion from such News, and could see nothing before my Eyes but total Desolation and final Ruin.

To tell us that this is to be done out of Tenderness to the Miserable, is adding Contempt to the Injury : It is insulting our Understandings, and playing with the Publick Misfortunes ; it is first to make us Beggars, and then to treat us like Idiots. With as much Modesty did a grand Monarch, who was known to make himself Sport, for above half a Century, with the Lives of Men, pretend to ground his Desire of Peace, upon a conscientious Inclination he had to prevent the *Effusion of Christian Blood.*

Those who have the least Compassion, Virtue and Tenderness, will shew it upon the properest Objects ; they will prefer the Security and Welfare of many Millions, to the Security and Welfare of some Thousands, tho' they should prove many Thousands ; especially if the latter prove to have been covetous and unthinking Men, caught themselves in the Snare which they spread for others : For by these wild Bargains, no Man is undone, but he who intended the Favour, of being undone, to somebody else. These Gentlemen, pretending to so much Tenderness and Compassion, will not at least sacrifice those who always foresaw the Mischief, and always oppos'd it, to the Relief of such who contributed to it ; who made corrupt Applications for an early Admittance into the Advantage of the Secret ; who swallowed

swallowed *Plumbs* in their Imaginations, and ridicul'd as Fools or Beggars all that kept at a wise and honest distance.

Pity and Compassion are charming and engaging Sounds, when rightly applied ; but Pity and Compassion do not consist in protecting Criminals from Justice, and in suffering the Devourers of a Nation to go off with the Plunder of a Nation ; nor in oppressing the People over again, to make the Loser amends ; neither do they consist in giving away the Publick Treasure of Nations to private Men for no reason, or for very bad Reasons ; nor in engaging a Kingdom in wild and romantick Expences, to serve wild and romantick Purposes ; neither do they consist in sacrificing the Trade and Manufacture of a whole People, and in consequence the Bread of a whole People, to the destructive Interests of Societies of Stock-jobbers, combin'd with publick Plunderers for mutual Defence.

Our wise and disinterested Legislature mean other things ; they have told us that they will not relieve one part of the distressed and deluded Bubbles, to the Detriment of others, who have as much Pretence to Relief as themselves ; and it is impossible to imagine that they will give up the unoffending and almost despairing People (*whose Interests they are chosen to assert*) to repair the Losses of unwary Men, and to put thirty Millions in the Pockets of twenty Stock-jobbers.

Can it be supposed that the Parliament will refuse to make void hasty and private Bargains, founded in Corruption and Fraud, and made without any one honest Consideration ? And shall this Refusal be made for the *Publick Good* ? And yet shall that very Parliament be thought capable of making void a publick Bargain, made for the Publick Good, with the greatest Deliberation, and upon the weightiest Motives in the World ? Which Bargain was indeed the chief, if not the
only

only Cause, that drew upon us our present great Calamities.

But we are told by the Projectors, that the Company is not able to pay the Publick the Sum stipulated; and the King must lose his Right, where his Right is not to be had. This is impudently as well as stupidly said; for the Security is already in the Hands of the Publick. The Nation owes the Company near *Forty Millions*, and nothing is necessary but to stop the Payment of *Seven*.

But it is further urged by the Projectors, that the Company *will* be undone, if so much is stopt from them; and I aver, that the Nation is undone, if it is not stopt.

Here a very pleasant Observation offers itself: For this very same Project, which would mercifully remit to the *South-Sea*, the seven Millions due by them to the Publick, is intended to raise a Hundred Pounds Capital Stock, in the Company, to three or four Hundred Pounds in Value; I will suppose only to three Hundred, and even then their present Capital being about twenty-six Millions, the whole will be worth about eighty Millions; and surely, if the Publick gives them such an immense Advantage, they may well afford to pay the small Sum of seven Millions, due to the Publick, out of it. Our own Laws, and the Laws of every Country in the World, give Precedence to the *Prerogative*, in the Business of Debtor and Creditor; and always secure the Debts due to the Publick, whatever becomes of those due to private Men. Surely we shall not reject the Wisdom of Nations, and invert the Maxims of Government, that while we confirm the Bargains of particular Men, we destroy those made for the Benefit of all the Men in the Kingdom.

But there is something yet more absurd in this Project: For, the Bargain was made with the *Old Company*, who were to give Three Millions
and

and a half, certain, to the Publick ; and about Three Millions more, if they could purchase in the Annuitants : Which Sum they could have afforded to the *Publick*, if they could but have raised their Stock *Thirty per Cent.* upon the whole Stock so united : But we have, in Fact, seen its imaginary Value encreased, at one Time, more than Two Hundred Millions ; which has enabled those, in the Secret, to carry off more than Twenty, if not Thirty Millions.

Valuing the Stock, at present, at Two Hundred, which is less than the Stock sells for, the old Capital alone, is advanced near Twelve Millions above its first Value ; and consequently is able to pay *Seven*, without the Assistance of the *New Subscribers* : And, if the Projectors of the Scheme advance the Stock to Three or Four Hundred, as they pretend they will ; then the first Contractors, and those who stand in their Places, will double or treble their Capital ; tho' *they alone* were to pay the Publick the poor Consideration which has enabled them to do so.

Hard Fate of poor *England*, to be thus the last regarded, even in *Schemes* and *Deliberations*, which purely regard *England* ! *Private Men*, who have been *bubbled*, are to be pitied ; but must *Private Men*, who have contributed to the *Publick Ruin* and their *own*, be regarded preferably to the *Publick* ; and must *Publick Compassion* be shewn to *Private Dupes*, rather than to the *Publick* itself ?

Poor *England* ! What a *Name* art thou become ! a *Name* of *Infatuation* and *Misery* ! How art thou *fallen* ! how *plundered* ! And those that have done it, would, to keep their *Spoil*, agree to assist others to squeeze out thy last *Dregs*, and to suck out thy *remaining Blood*. How *Passive* do they think thee ! How tame would they make thee ! an easy Prey for *Devourers* ; who, while they hold thee fast, and gripe thee hard with *Iron Claws*, aggravate thy *Misery* by mocking it, and insolently talk of *Compassivn*.

What keener Indignities can they do us, than thus to *Jest* with us, while we are gasping, while we are expiring, in the midst of the Pangs and Convulsions into which they have wantonly and wickedly thrown us!

Odd is that *Compassion*, which arises from *Guilt* and *Avarice*; and with how much Modesty wou'd they Christen, with the deluding Title of *Pity*, that Conduct, which would prove in effect to be only Impunity to the Murderers of our *Prosperity*, and the Manglers of their *Country*! Thus would they insult our Understanding, and deal with us as if we had none.

How long shall we suffer under this pungent Usage, this painful Disgrace to our Sense and our Spirit? Patience under Indignities, invites fresh Indignities. We see our *Parricides* do, as it were, take Pains to invent new Miseries for us——A hard Task! considering those they have already accomplish'd. Nay, they act as if they despair'd of making us desperate.

They may be mistaken. And indeed, in the whole String of their Politicks, I could never discover any one Symptom of their Skill in Human Nature, except that which they learnt from *Breakers* and *Pedlars* in Stocks.

In truth, Matters are come to that pass, that an Endeavour to make them worse, may probably make them better, *Res nolunt male administrari*. All Men suffer, all Men are alarm'd; Resentment rages high, and gathers thick from all Quarters; and tho' it may seem big with some terrible Event, yet it may be prevented by *Anticipation*.

Our Eyes are upon the Parliament, and so are the Eyes of *Europe*. We have begun to conceive Hope from the bold and upright *Spirit*, which appears in our *Representatives* to right us and to revenge us. They have, indeed, a great and unprecedented Opportunity given them of securing to themselves, in the Hearts of all *Englishmen*, a Monu-

Monument of grateful Praise and Publick Spirit,
and of perpetuating that Praise in the Memory
of every Briton till Time shall be no more.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant.

C A T O.



To the Author of the *London Journal*.

S I R,

Jan. 7. 1720.

Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto: That the Benefit and Safety of the People constitutes the Supreme Law, is a universal and everlasting Maxim in Government: It can never be altered by municipal Statutes: No Customs can change, no positive Institutions can abrogate, and no Time can efface this primary Law of Nature and Nations. The sole End of Mens entring into political Societies, was mutual Protection and Defence; and whatever Power does not contribute to those Purposes, is not Government, but Usurpation.

Every Man in the State of Nature, had a Right to repel Injuries, and to revenge them; that is, he had a Right to punish the Authors of those Injuries, and to prevent their being again committed; and this he might do, without declaring before-hand, what Injuries he would punish. Seeing therefore, that this Right was inherent in every private Man, it is absurd to suppose that National Legislatures, to whom every Man's private Power is committed, have not the same Right, and ought not to exercise it upon proper Occasions.

Crimes being the Objects of Laws, there were Crimes before there were Laws to punish them; and yet from the Beginning they deserved to be punished by the Person affected by them, or by the

Society, and Number of Men united with him for common Security, though without the Sentence of a common Judge, (called by us the *Magistrates*) formally appointed to condemn Offenders

Laws, for the most part, do not make Crimes, but suit and adapt Punishments to such Actions as all Mankind knew to be Crimes before: And tho' National Governours should never enact any positive Laws, and never annex particular Penalties to known Offences; yet they would have a Right, and it wou'd be their Duty, to punish those Offences, according to their best Discretion, and much more so, if the Crimes committed are so great, that no human Wisdom cou'd foresee that any Man cou'd be wicked and desperate enough to commit them.

Lawyers distinguish betwixt *Malum prohibitum* and *Malum in se*; that is, between Crimes that are so in their own Nature, and Crimes that owe their Pravity to a Disobedience to positive Laws. Of the former Sort are all those Actions, by which one Man hurts another in his Reputation, his Person, or his Fortune; and those Actions are still more heinous, if they injure, or are intended to injure the whole Society.

The latter Sort consists of such Crimes as result from what Legislatures enact for the particular Benefit of private Societies; as Laws concerning the Regulation of Trade, the Manner of choosing Magistrates, Local Orders, and from such positive Institutions, as receive their Force alone from the Powers that enact them. Now those Crimes were not so before they were declared so; and consequently, no Man was before under any Obligation to avoid them.

It wou'd be very severe and unjust to punish any Man for an undesign'd Transgression of the latter Sort; *that is*, for such Actions as he thought he might lawfully and honestly do, and which he had never Notice given him not to do. But to infer from thence, that a Villain may despise

spise all the Laws of God and Nature, ruin Thousands of his Fellow-Subjects, and overturn Nations with Impunity, because such Villany was too monstrous for human Foresight and Prevention, is something so absurd, that I am ashamed to confute it.

This is nothing less than asserting, that a Nation has not a Power within itself to save itself: That the Whole ought not to preserve the Whole: That particular Men have the Liberty to subvert the Government which protects them, and yet continue to be protected by that Government which they would destroy: That they may overturn all Law, and yet escape by not being within the express Words of any particular Law.

There are Crimes so monstrous and shocking, that wise States would not suffer them to stand in their Statute Books; because they would not put such an Indignity upon human Nature, as to suppose it capable of committing them. They wou'd not mention what they imagin'd wou'd never be practised. The *Old Romans*, therefore, had no Law against *Parricide*; and yet there was no want of Punishment for *Parricides* from the Want of Law: Those black and enormous Criminals were sewed up in a Sack, and thrown into the *Tyber*.

In *Holland*, there was no Law against Mens breaking fraudulently; and yet the first Man who was known to do so, was immediately executed, and his Estate divided among his Creditors.

In *England*, 'tis said, there was no Law, till lately, against the burning of Ships; and yet, if any Man had burned the Royal Navy of *England*, lying at Anchor, ought not his Crime, which it seems was not *Felony*, to have been declared *High-Treason*?

Many Nations have had particular Officers appointed on Purpose to punish uncommon Crimes, which were not within the Reach of ordinary Justice. The *Romans* had a *Dictator*; a great and extraor-

extraordinary Magistrate, vested with an extraordinary Power, as he was created on extraordinary Exigences ; and his Commission was limited only by the *Publick Good*, and consisted in a very short Direction, *Nequid detrimenti Respublica capiat* ; in English, *to save the State.*

This powerful Officer was once created on purpose to put to Death *Spurius Mælius*, for giving *gratis* to the People a large Quantity of Corn, in a Time of Famine. This Liberality of his was construed by the Senate, an ambitious Bribe to catch the Hearts of the Multitude, in order to seize their Liberties —— *Spurius Mælius* —— *prædives, rem utilem pessimo exemplo, pejore consilio est aggressus.* He undertook a publick and plausible Thing, but of ill Example, and with a worse Design. *Largitiones frumenti facere instituit.* His avow'd Pretence was to relieve the Poor ; *Plebemq; hoc munere delinitam, quacunq; incederet conspectus elatusq; supra modum hominis privati, secum trahere.* He cajol'd the People, intending to enslave them ; and growing too powerful for a Subject, became terrible to the common Liberty, which is supported by Equality. *Ipse, ut est humanus animus insatiabilis eo quod fortuna spondet, ad altiora & non concessâ tendere :* The Mind of Man is restless, and cannot stand still, nor set Bounds to its Pursuits. It is not to be expected that one of our *Million Men*, (and they say we have several) will sit down and be content with his *Millions*, though he were allowed to keep them, (which God forbid!) He will be making new Pushes for new Acquisitions, having such ample Means in his Hands. *Spurius Mælius* would at first have been content with the *Consulate*, or chief Magistracy in ordinary ; but because he found that even that cou'd not be got without Force, he thought the same Force would as well carry him up higher, and make him King. —— *Et quoniam Consulatus quoq; eripiendus invitis patribus esset, de Regno agitare.* The Tray-

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tor had been suffered to carry a great Point, he had abused the Publick, and deceived the People. The Senate, therefore, take him to task, and there being no Law subsisting, by which he could be put to Death —— *Consules legibus constricti, nequaquam tantum virium in Magistratu ad eam rem pro atrocitate vindicandam quantum animi haberent*; They therefore create a *Dictator*, an Officer with Power, for a Time, to suspend Laws, and make Laws. The Occasion was great —— *Opus esse non fortis solam viro, sed etiam LIBERO, EXSOLUTOQUE LEGUM VINCULIS.* *L. Quincius Cincinnatus* was the Man, a true and brave old Republican, who worthily and boldly did his Work, and by the Hands of his Master of the Horse, slew the mighty *Traitor*, impudently imploring the *Publick Faith*, to which he was a sworn Enemy; and complaining of the Power of Oppression, when the shameless Villain had been only seeking a Power to oppres. *Fidem plebis Romanae implorare*; & opprimenti se *CONSENSU PATRUM DICERE*. He knew his Villanies were out of the Reach of the Law, and he did not dream of an extraordinary Method of punishing them by the *Roman Parliament*. But he was deceived: And, the *Dictator* tells the People, that being a sort of an *Outlaw*, he was not to be proceeded with, as with a *Citizen of Rome*: *Nec cum eo tanquam cum Civice agendum fuisse*. An unusual Death was due to his monstrous Wickedness: *Non pro scelere id magis, quam pro monstro habendum*. Nor was his Blood alone, says the wise *Dictator*, sufficient to expiate his Guilt, unless we also pull down his *House*, where such crying Crimes were first conceived; and confiscate to the publick Use his Estate and his Treasures, the Price and Means of the publick Ruin. —— And his Estate was accordingly given to the Publick —— *Nec satis esse sanguine ejus expiatum, nisi tecta parietesq; inter quæ tantum amentia conceplum esset, dissiparentur; bonaq;*

bonaq; contacta pretiis Regni mercandi publicar-entur: Jubere itaq; Questores, vendere ea bona & in publicum redigere. The Treasury had them for the use of the Publick.

Thus did the Great, the Wise, and the *Free Romans* punish this extraordinary Knave, by a Power that was not ordinary. They likewise exerted it upon other Occasions; nor were they the only People that did so.

The *Athenians*, grown Jealous by having lost their Liberties, by the Usurpation of a private, but too powerful Citizen, durst never trust this great Power to any single Magistrate, or even to a Council. They would not however part with it, but reserved it to the whole Body of the People, agreeably to the Nature of a popular Government. In this jealous State, it was a Crime to be popular, much more to affect Popularity: They would not allow a Man to have it in his Power to enslave his Country. And, indeed, it is Wisdom in a State, and a Sign that they judge well, to suppose that all Men, who can enslave them, will enslave them. Generosity, Self denial, and private and personal Virtues, are in *Polticks*, but mere Name's, or rather *Cant-Words*, that go for nothing with wise Men, tho' they may cheat the Vulgar. The *Athenians* knew this, and therefore appointed a Method of punishing *great Men*, tho' they could prove no other Crime against them, but that of being *great Men*. This Punishment was called the *Ostracism*, or the Sentence of a Majority, in a *Balott* by *Oyster Shells*; by which a suspected Citizen was adjudged to Banishment for ten Years. They would not trust to the Virtue and Moderation of any private Subject, capable by being great, to be mischievous; but would rather hurt a private Subject, than endanger the publick Liberty. Worthy Men are thought to have suffered unjustly by this *Ostracism*; and it may be true, for ought I know; but still it secured the *Publick*, and long secured it.

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Weak and babbling Men, who penetrate no deeper than Words, may blame this politick Severity in the Commonwealth of *Athens*; but it is justified, in that it was politick.

In *Venice*, a wise, ancient, and honourable Republick, there is a Council of *Ten*, which exercises this extraordinary Power: Every arbitrary Prince in the World exercises it; and every *Free State* in the World has an undoubted Right to exercise it, tho' they have never delegated their Power to particular Magistrates to exercise it for them.

In *England*, indeed, we have not delegated this Power at all; because we very well know who must have had it, and what Use would be made of it. The Legislature, therefore, has reserved this Power to itself, and has an undoubted Right to exercise it; and has often done so upon extraordinary Occasions. It ought indeed to be exercised but upon extraordinary Occasions. *Jove's* Thunderbolts were only launch'd against such as provok'd the Thunderbolts of *Jove*.

I shall, in my next Letters to you, apply these general Maxims of Government to our own particular Constitution, and to the present Occasion, which calls aloud for *Jove's* Help and *Thunder*.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

C A T O.

To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,

Jan. 14, 1720.

TREASON, properly so called, in Latin, *Crimen lese Majestatis*, is in all Countries the same. It is an Endeavour to subvert, or to do some notable Mischief to the *Publick*; of which every Man is a Part, and with which he has joined himself for mutual Defence, under what Form soever the Administration is exercised. I own, lesser Crimes are sometimes called by the same Name, and subjected to the same Punishment.

An Attempt to destroy the chief Magistrate of a Commonwealth, or the General of an Army in the Field, or the Governour of a Town during a Siege, are certainly *Treasons* every where; because in such Attempts, when they succeed, is often involved the Ruin of States. They also are doubtless guilty of *High-Treason*, who, being entrusted with the *Wealth, Security, and Happiness* of Kingdoms, do yet knowingly pervert that Trust, to the undoing of that People, whom they are obliged, by undeserved Rewards, as well as by all the Ties of *Religion, Justice, Honour, and Gratitude*, to defend and protect.

'Tis the same if any Number of Men, tho' in a lesser Trust, or in no Trust at all, should deliberately and knowingly destroy Thousands of their Fellow Subjects, and overturn the Trade and publick Credit of the Nation, to enrich themselves and their Accomplices.

These, and Crimes of the like nature, are *Treasons* from the Nature of Things themselves, antecedent to all Laws that call them so; and will be *Treasons*, tho' Laws gained by Subordination should call them otherwise: And every State has a Right to treat those who commit them, as *Trayters and Parricides*. In truth, there are as many of these Kinds of Treasons, as there are different Methods of conspiring against Kingdoms;

doms ; and the *Criminals*, tho' ever so Great, deserve *Death* and *Confiscation* ; that is, they ought to be destroyed by the People whom they would destroy.

The great Principle of Self-preservation, which is the first and fundamental Law of Nature, calls for this Procedure : The Security of Commonwealths depends upon it ; the very Being of Government makes it necessary ; and whatever is necessary to the Publick Safety, is just.

The Fate of Millions, and the *Being* of States, must not stand and fall by the Distinctions of Monks, coined in Colleges, or by the Chicane of Petty-Foggers ; who would bring every thing within the narrow Verge of their own Knowledge, and under their own Jurisdiction and Cognizance ; and would determine all Things by the Rules of inferior Judicatories, the Gibberish of private Practisers, and the Sayings of Old Women, or of those who are like Old Women ; whose Brains are addled by being long jumbled, and always turn'd round within the scanty Circle of private Courts, not daring to venture at a bold and free Thought out of them, however self-evident ; like some Carriers Horses that are used to a Track, and know not how to travel in an open Road.

But Questions of this kind belong *ad aliud examen*, and ought to be brought before a higher Tribunal : The Legislature are the only proper and safe Judges ; what is done against All, should be judged by All. Nor are their Resolutions to be confined by any other Rule than *quid est utile*, *quid honestum*, general Justice, and the general Good. *Religion*, *Virtue*, *common Sense*, and the *Publick Peace* and *Felicity*, are the only Council to be admitted either for the *Publick* or the *Prisoners*.

The Conspirators against Mankind ought to know, that no Subterfuges, or Tergiversations, no knavish Subtilties, or pedantic Quirks of

Lawyers ; no Evasions , no Skulkings behind known Statutes ; no Combinations, or pretended Commissions, shall be able to skreen or protect them from publick Justice. They ought to know, that there is a Power in Being that can follow them thro' all their dark Labyrinths and doubling Meanders ; a Power that can crush them to pieces, tho' they change into all the Shapes of *Proteus*, to avoid the Fury of *Hercules* ; a Power confined by no Limitation, but that of *Publick Justice* and the *Publick Good* ; a Power that does not follow Precedents, but makes them ; a Power which has this for its Principle, that *extraordinary Crimes* ought not to be tried by *ordinary Rules* ; and that unprecedented Villanies ought to have *unprecedented Punishments*.

But tho' in all Governments, this great Power must exist somewhere ; yet it can rarely be delegated with Prudence to inferior Magistrates ; who, out of Ambition, Revenge, or Faction, or for Bribes and Preferments, or out of Fear or Flattery, or in concert with the ill Measures and selfish Intrigues of Statesmen, may pervert so dangerous a Trust to the Destruction of those whom it was intended to preserve.

This particularly has been the Case of *England* : We know by what Means Judges were often made, and from what Conduct they expected farther Preferment, and from whom they looked for Protection : For this reason they were, and ought to be confined in their Jurisdiction relating to *Treason*, and the Manner of trying it.

Undoubtedly every Intention manifested by Act to destroy the Constitution and Government, was Treason by the Common Law of *England* — But why do I say of *England*, since it is, and ever was Treason in every Country throughout the World ? This *Treason* equally extends to those, who would subvert either House of Parliament, or the Rights and Privileges of the People, as to those who attempted to destroy the Person of

of the King, or to dethrone him. And indeed, what can be more absurd, than to suppose it to be the highest Crime to attempt to destroy one Man, for no other reason but that he is *King*; and yet not to suppose it the highest Crime to destroy that People, for whose Benefit alone he was made King, and for whose Sake indeed there ever was such a thing as a King in the World?

But tho' this Proposition was self-evident, and must ever be assented to as soon as mentioned, yet by the Flattery of Priests and servile Lawyers, the *Salus Populi*, or Security of the State, soon came to signify only the unbounded Power and Sovereignty of the Prince; and it became Treason to hinder one, constituted, and grandly maintained out of the Peoples Labour and Wealth, for the Publick Safety, from destroying the Publick Safety. Our Ancestors found, by lamentable Experience, that unworthy Men, preferred by corrupt Ministers for unworthy Ends, made *Treasons* free only of the *Court*; that the least Attempt to oppose unlimited and unlawful Authority, was often called *Treason*; and that the highest *Treasons* of all, which were those against the Commonwealth, might be committed with Impunity, Applause and Rewards.

It was therefore high time to apply an adequate Remedy to an enormous Mischief, which struck at the whole State, and at the Fortunes and Lives of every Subject in *England*. The Statute therefore of the 25th of *Edward III.* was enacted, which enumerates the several Species or Kinds of *Treasons*, which shall continue to be esteemed *Treasons*, and be adjudged so by the King's Justices; and are chiefly those which relate to the King's Person, his Family, and Dignity: These the Parliament thought they might safely trust to the Examination of the King's Judges, under such Limitations and Regulations as the Act presents.

But

But it is plain from the same Act, that they did not intend to confine all *Treasons* to those recited there, because it is declared in the following Words, *viz.* *If any other Case, supposed Treason, not before specified, shall happen before any Justices, they shall stay Judgment, till the Cause be shewed before the Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason or not.*

So that here is a plain Declaration of the Legislature (*if any Man can possibly think such a Declaration wanting*) that other Crimes were *Treason*, and ought to be punished as *Treason* (*tho' not by the King's Judges*) besides those recited in the *Act*; which were, as has been said, designed only to extend to Treasons which were committed against our Lord the King, and his Royal Majesty, as the *Act* expressly says. And 'tis evident from the whole Tenor of it, that it was intended purely to restrain the unlimited and exorbitant Jurisdiction, assumed by the King's Courts, in declaring *Treasons*, and sacrificing by that Means whom they pleased to unlawful Power.

But as to the highest and most heinous Treasons of all; such as were Treasons against the Legislature, and against the whole Body of the People for whose Safety alone there were any Treasons against the King at all, seeing that their Safety was, in a great measure, included in his; the Parliament reserved the Judgment of every such Treason to themselves: *They did not alter what was Treason, but the Judges of it.* They knew that Treasons against the Constitution could seldom be committed, but by *Ministers* and *Favourites* of Princes, protected by Power, and sheltered by Authority; and that therefore it would be absurd to trust the Punishment of such *potent Knaves*, and *criminal Favourites*, to Judges made by themselves; *Judges*, who would neither have Inclination, Figure, or Character, to reach Crimes countenanced and perhaps authorized by a *Richard II.* or an *Edward II.* Such

Such Crimes, therefore, were the proper Objects of the *awful Power* of a Legislature ; who will always be supported by the People whom they represent, when they exert themselves for the Interest of that People. *A Power*, so supported, can make the *loudest Traitor* quake. It can fetch corrupt *Ministers* out of their dark recesses, and make their Heads a Victim to publick Vengeance. Every wise and good King will lend a willing Ear to their dutiful Remonstrances ; he will hearken to the importunate Cries of his People, and readily deliver up the Authors of their Misery.

One great Part of their Care, therefore, has ever been to call those to Account, who have abused the Favour of their *Royal Master*; and endeavour'd to make him little and contemptible to his People ; weakening by such Means his Authority, and hazarding his Person. This, the People, whom they represented, thought they had a Right to expect and demand from them ; and this Justice they have often done to their King and Country.

An excellent Discourse concerning *Treasons* and *Bills of Attainder*, was published soon after his Majesty's Accession to the Crown ; and shew'd unanswerably, that our Parliaments, in almost every Reign since the Conquest, claimed and exercised this Right, upon extraordinary Occasions ; and none ever, till lately, opposed it, but the Criminals who were to suffer by it, and their Party : Some Gentlemen now living can give the best Account why that Book, and the Cries of every honest Man, had not their desired Effect. I hope no Man will be deluded again by any practising the same Arts, and for the same Reasons too.

The Length of this Letter will not allow me to draw from all these Reasonings upon Treason, such Applications as I promised in my last, and intended in this. I shall therefore defer these Applications

Applications to another, and perhaps more proper Occasion. In the mean while, I observe with Pleasure the noble Spirit shewn by our *Legisla-ture*, to punish, with an exemplary Severity, the Murtherers of our Credit, and the publick Enemies of our Liberty and Prosperity. This revives every drooping Heart, and kindles Joy in every Face, in spight of all our Miseries. And this brings Terror, Trembling, and Paleness upon the *Guilty*, to see Death and Destruction pursuing them close, and besetting them hard on every side. They are in the Circumstances, and the Agonies of the guilty *Cain*, who justly feared that every Man he met would kill him, tho' there was no Law then in Being against Murther.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,
CATO.

To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

Jan. 21, 1720.

IN surveying the State of the World, one is often at a great loss, whether to ascribe the political Misery of Mankind to their own Folly and Credulity, or to the Knavery and Impudence of their pretended Managers. Both these Causes do, in all appearance, concur to produce the same Evil; and if there were no Bubbles, there would be no Sharpers.

There must certainly be a vast Fund of Stupidity in Human Nature, else Men would not be caught as they are, a thousand times over, by the same Snare; and while they yet remember their past Misfortunes, go on to court and encourage the Causes to which they were owing, and which will again produce them.

I will own, however, that *Government* makes more Fools, and more wise Men, than *Nature* makes;

makes ; and the difference between Nation and Nation, in Point of Virtue, Sagacity and Arms, arises not from the different *Genius* of the People ; which, making very small Allowances for the difference of Climate, would be the same under the same Regulations : but from the different *Genius* of their Political Constitutions ; the one perhaps making common Sense dangerous, and Enquiries criminal, cowering the Spirits of Men, and rebuking the Sallies of Virtue ; while the other, at the same time, encourages the Improvement of the Understanding, and rewards the Discovery of Truth, and cultivates, as a Virtue, the Love of Liberty and of one's Country.

And yet even in Countries where the highest Liberty is allowed, and the greatest Light shines, you generally find certain Men and Bodies of Men, set apart to mislead the Multitude ; who are ever abus'd with Words, and ever fond of the worst Things recommended by good Names ; and who ever abhor the best Things, and the most virtuous Actions, disfigured by ill Names. One of the great Arts, therefore, of cheating Men, is to study the Application and Misapplication of Sounds. — A few loud Words rule the Majority, I had almost said, *the World*.

Thus we have heard from our Fathers, and seen in our own Days, that contemptible Infests, born in Poverty, and educated by Charity, being often, from cleaning their Master's Shoes, preferred unexpectedly and undeservedly to Offices and Preferments in the Church, have had the Front to call themselves *the Church* itself, and every one its Enemy, who despised their Meanness, expos'd their reverend Knavery, and laugh'd at their Grinace.

And thus we have been told of the Times, and some Men now living, do remember to have seen them, when unworthy Men, who by Faction and Treachery, by mean Compliances with Power, or

by insolently daring of Authority, raised themselves to Wealth and Honours, and to the Power of betraying some considerable Trust, have had the provoking Sawciness to call themselves *the Government*, and their own Rogueries *his then Majesty's Measures*; and the next thing was to pronounce all those Enemies to his then Majesty, who would endeavour to rescue their abus'd King, and sinking Country, out of their devouring and polluted Claws.

In King *Charles I.*'s Time the Great Earl of *Strafford*, and little Archbishop *Laud*, told the Nation, that his *Majesty's Measures* were the governing without Parliaments, a Power without reserve in the State, a flaming *Popish* Hierarchy in the Church, absolute and abject Submission in the People, and a Barbarian Army of *Irish Papists* to support and insure all these worthy *Measures*. But the untimely Death of one of these Offenders, and the Imprisonment of the other, broke all those fine *Measures*.

In the Reign of *Charles II.* Pensionary Parliaments, a general Depravation of Manners, Guards increased into Armies, and *Popish* Religion and a *Popish* Successor, *Popish* Leagues, and Protestant Wars, were called by wicked Men *his Majesty's Measures*; and all honest Men and good Subjects were called his Majesty's Enemies: And, when that Prince saw that these Measures of his Ministry created endless Jealousies to his People, and endless Uneasiness to himself, and he resolved to take other Measures of his own, it is thought they put a short End to all his *Measures*.

When King *James* came to the Crown, tho' setting Bigotry apart, he had many Royal Virtues, being a Prince of Industry and good Oeconomy; yet he suffered himself to be governed by a Sett of Sycophants; many of them as foolish as they were mischievous. The Establishment of bare-faced *Romish* Popery in the Church, and a lawless Tyranny

Tyranny in the Prince, became then *his Majesty's Measures*; and the Ministers, who advised and promoted them, call'd themselves *the Government*; and whoever opposed his Reason, his Honesty and his publick Spirit, against those Traytors to the Publick, was charged with *flying in the Face of the GOVERNMENT*, and opposing *his Majesty's Measures*. In what these Measures ended, is well known. They cost his Majesty his Kingdoms, and made him an honourable Beggar in France all his Life, for his daily Bread.

King *William* when he came to the Crown, brought with him the Hearts, the Hands, and the good Wishes of every honest Man in *England*; and was supported by these Men through a tedious and expensive War, unknown to our Ancestors; which, when he had finished, and the exhausted People expected some Relaxations from their Sufferings, they were given to know, by some Court Parasites, that *his Majesty's Measures* was a Standing Army, in time of Peace, under the Inspection of Parliaments. This unexpected Spirit in the Court, gave such Jealousie to those who were best affected to his Majesty's Person and Government, that, with Grief I call to Mind the Difficulties and Anxieties which that great Prince felt ever afterwards to the end of his Reign.

As to Queen *Anne*, I shall say no more, than that it is shrewdly suspected, what her Majesty's Ministry had the Insolence to call *Her Majesty's Measures*, broke her Majesty's Heart.

Let Mankind therefore learn Experience from so many Misfortunes, and bear no longer to hear the worst Things call'd by the best Names; nor suffer hereafter the brightest and most conspicuous Virtues of the wisest and most beneficent Princes, to be sullied by Actions which they do not countenance, nor even know of. Let them not permit the Vices of the worst of Servants, to be laid at the Door of the best of Masters.

We, in this Land, are very sure that we are blessed with the best King in the World, who desires of his People nothing but their own Greatness and Felicity : A Prince, ready to prevent their Wishes, and to give them more than their Duty ought to suffer them to ask. Let us shew our Duty to this our great and benevolent Sovereign ; let us endeavour to alleviate his Cares, and him of all ungrateful Burthens ; let us take upon ourselves the heavy Labour of cleansing the *Augean* Stables, and of cutting off all the *Hydra's* Heads at once.

The Law tells us, that the King *can* do no wrong ; and I thank God, we have a King that *would* not, if he could. But the greatest Servants to Princes *may* do wrong, and often have done it ; and the Representatives of the People have an undoubted Right to call them to an Account for it :

In Truth, every private Subject has a Right to watch the Steps of those who would betray their Country ; nor is he to take their Word about the Motives of their Designs, but to judge of their Designs by the Event.

This is the Principle of a *Whig*, this the Doctrine, of Liberty ; and 'tis as much Knavery to deny this Doctrine, as it is Folly to ridicule it. Some will tell us, that this is setting up the *Mob* for Statesmen, and for the Censors of States. The Word *Mob* does not at all move me, on this Occasion, nor weaken the Grounds I go upon. It is certain, that the whole People, who are the Publick, are the best Judges whether Things go ill or well with the Publick. It is true, they cannot all of them see distant Dangers, nor watch the Motions, and guess the Designs of neighbouring States : But every Cobler can judge as well as a Statesman, whether he can sit peaceably in his Stall ; whether he is paid for his Work ; whether the Market where he buys his Victuals, is well provided ; and whether a *Dragoon* or a *Parish Officer*

Officer comes to him for his Taxes, if he pays any.

Every Man too, even the meanest, can see, in a publick, and sudden Transition from Plenty to Poverty, and from Happiness to Distress, whether the Calamity comes from War and Famine, and the Hand of God; or from Oppression, and Mismanagements, and the Villanies of Men. In short, the People often judge better than their Superiors, and have not so many Byasles to judge wrong; and Politicians often rail at the People, chiefly because they have given the People occasion to rail: Those Ministers who cannot make the People their Friends, it is to be shrewdly suspected, do not deserve their Friendship; it is certain, that much Honesty, and small Management, rarely miss to gain it. As Temporal Felicity is the whole End of Government; so People will always be pleased or provoked as that increases or abates. This Rule will always hold. You may judge of their Affection, or Disaffection, by the Burthens they bear, and the Advantages they enjoy. Here then is a sure Standard for the Government to judge of the People, and for the People to judge of the Government.

Blessed be God, and Thanks to our Sovereign, who has given us a Ministry that makes all these Cautions unnecessary; who will baffle all Calumny, and remove all Suspicion of Guilt from themselves, (if any such Suspicion can be) by being Foremost to pursue the Guilty; and will doubtless take double Vengeance upon any in publick Authority (if any such can be found) who shall appear to have contributed to our publick Misfortunes; and in fine, will promote and encourage a rigorous and strict Enquiry, wherever any Suspicion is given, that Enquiry ought to be made.

Such Conduct will disperse our Fears, restore our Credit, give Bread to our Poor, make Trade and Manufacture flourish again; and, in some Measure,

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Measure, compensate for all our past Evils, by giving us a lasting Prospect of future Plenty, Peace, and Felicity.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

C A T O.

To the Author of the *London-Journal*.

S I R,

Jan. 28. 1720.

If amongst your great and masterly Correspondents, you can find Room for one who has never troubled you before, and perhaps may never do so hereafter, I desire you would insert this Letter in your Journal; for this reason chiefly, because I would prevent any Misconstruction which may be made of some Passages in the Letter publish'd by your Brother, Mr. Mist, last Saturday; which Letter I sincerely acknowledge to be an excellent Performance. I am very glad of the Assistance of so able a Pen, and hearty Fellow-Labourer in this fruitful Vineyard; not doubting but he proceeds, *in this Affair*, upon the same Principles of Liberty, of Love to Mankind, Detestation of Oppression from Friends as well as Enemies, and of Zeal to King *GEORGE*, and his *Legal Government*, as I do; and I doubt not but he will shew it in the Course of his Letters, if he sends any more.

The best, the wisest, and the most courageous of despotic Princes, have frequently lamented the unhappy Condition into which their Greatness betrayed them. Being often born in Purple, and educated in Pride and Luxury, they seldom can have any Feeling of the Calamities, which the rest of the World suffer. They are, besides,

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surrounded for the most part, by the falsest, the most ambitious, and the basest of all Men ; with such Mens Eyes they must therefore see, and with such Mens Ears they must likewise hear.

I cannot, in truth, see how, in the Nature of Things, it can be otherwise : For the mean Fawnings, the servile Flatteries, the deceitful Correspondences, the base Ingratitude to old Benefactors, and the slavish Compliances with new Friends, and all the other Arts and Treacheries, which are necessary to be put in practice, in order to rise in such Courts, or indeed to become Heads of Parties, even in free Governments, make it almost impossible for a truly great or vertuous Man to attain to those Stations.

A good Man will chuse to live in an innocent Obscurity, and enjoy the internal Satisfaction, resulting from a just Sense of his own Merit and Virtue, rather than aim at Greatnes by a long Series of unworthy Arts and ignoble Actions ; whilst the ambitious, the cruel, the rapacious, the false, the proud, the treacherous Part of Mankind, will be ever thrusting themselves forward, and endeavouring to sparkle in Courts, as well as in the Eyes of the unthinking Croud ; and to make themselves necessary, will be continually either flattering or distressing Princes.

Nor can it be expected that Men, who have been raised to Power by such execrable Means, should ever use it to the Benefit of Mankind, or to any good End. They will always proceed in the same Steps where they began ; and use, for the Support of their Greatnes, the same vile Measures by which they acquir'd their Greatnes ; till they have at length sacrific'd all Things in Heaven and Earth to their Ambition.

There is a fine Passage, to this purpose, in the short History of the Emperor *Aurelian* by *Vopiscus*. ‘ Et queritur quidem quæ res malos principes faciat : Jam primum, Licentia, deinde Re-

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rum Copia, Amici improbi, satellites detestandi, Eunuchi avarissimi, aulici vel Stulti vel detestabiles, & (quod negari non potest) rerum publicarum Ignorantia. Sed ego a Patre meo audivi, Diocletianum principem, jam privatum, dixisse, *nihil esse difficultius quam bene imperare.* Collegunt se quatuor vel quinque, atque unum Consilium ad decipiendum principem capiunt: dicunt quod probandum sit. Imperator, qui domi clausus est, vera non novit. Cogitur hoc tantum scire quod illi loquuntur: Facit Judices quos fieri non oportet; amovet a Republica quos debebat obtinere. Quid multa? Ut Diocletianus ipse dicebat, *Bonus Cantus, optimus venditur Imperator.* Histor. August. Scriptor.

Tom. 2. p. 531, 532.

My Friends, says the great Emperor *Dioclesian*, to those who advis'd him to resume the Empire, you little know how difficult an Undertaking it is to perform the Duty of a *Roman* Emperor, and to reign well. The few who have Access to him, will cabal and conspire together, and unite in their Counsels to deceive and betray him. They will study how to flatter him, and never tell him what it is their Duty to tell him, and what is his Interest to know, but only what they think will best please him. They will shut him up, and as it were, imprison him in his Palace; and no one shall be admitted to his Ear, but by their Leave, and in their Presence; so that he shall never know the Condition of his Affairs, or be informed of the Cries of his People, or indeed of any thing but what they think fit to tell him. By their Means he shall prefer undeserving Men to the best Posts of the Empire, and disgrace the most worthy of his Subjects, and the most devoted to his Interest. But why, Gentlemen, should I labour this Point any more, when even the good, the most discerning, and the best and ablest Emperors are bought and sold?

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But *Dioclesian* was an arbitrary Prince, whose Will was a Law to his Subjects. But it is far otherwise in limited Monarchies, where the Prince governs his People by fix'd Rules and known Statutes; and where his Faithful States have a Right to represent freely, though humbly, to him their Grievances, and by his Authority to call to account, and punish, such Betrayers as are before described.

Happy therefore is that Prince, happy in the Love of his Subjects, happy in the just Applause and dutiful Acknowledgment of Millions of his Fellow Creatures, who derive their Felicity from him! Thrice happy is that People, where the Constitution is so pois'd and tempered, and the Administration so disposed and divided into proper Channels, that the Passions and Infirmities of the Prince, cannot enter into the Measures of his Government; where he has in his Power all the Means of doing good, and none of doing ill; where all beneficent and gracious Actions are owned to flow from his Clemency and Goodness, and where inferiour Machines are answerable for all such Conduct as may prejudice the Publick.

Such a Government does, in some Sense, resemble that of Heaven it self, where the Sovereign Disposer of all Things can neither will, nor do any Thing but what is Just and Good; who is restrained, by the Excellency of his own Nature, from being the Author of Evil; and will call to a severe Account, all those who would impute their own Unrighteousnes to his Orders or Influence.

Such is the Monarchy of *England*, where the Sovereign performs every Act of his Regal Office by his Authority, without the Fatigue and Anxiety of executing the troublesome Parts of it, *in his Person*. The Laws are chosen and recommended to him by his Parliament, and afterwards executed by his Judges, and other Ministers of Justice: His Great Seal is kept by his Chancellour: His

Naval Power is under the Direction of his *High Admiral*: And all Acts of State and Discretion are presumed to be done by the Advice of *His Council*. All which Officers are answerable for their Misbehaviour, and for all Actions done within their several Provinces, which they have advised, or could have prevented by giving their Advice, or by making timely and humble Remonstrances; which they are obliged to shew they have done.

His Leagues, his Commands, and even his Authentick Speeches, are Records. His High Office consists in approving Laws, chosen by common Consent; in executing those Laws, and in being the publick Guardian of the publick Safety: And all *private Orders*, which are inconsistent with these great Duties, are not the Orders of the Crown; nor are the Actions done in Pursuance of them, the Actions of the King; but the Actions of those that do them. He can do no Wrong himself, nor give Authority to any one else to do Wrong. Every Act of his must be lawful, because all unlawful Acts are not his. He can give no Commands, as a Man, which shall interfere with those he gives as a King. His *private Will* cannot controul his publick Will. He commands, as a King, his Chancellour, and Judges, to act according to his known Laws; and no private Order to do otherwise, can be valid.

The Nation has ever acted upon these Maxims, and preserved such a dutiful Respect to the Royal Majesty, as never to suffer any Guilt to be laid to him; but has always heaped double Vengeance upon such Miscreants, as would insinuate that their Crimes were approved or countenanced by their Royal Master.

Here is all the Precaution which can be taken by Human Wisdom, to make a happy Prince and a happy People. The Prince is restrained in nothing, but from doing Mischief to his Subjects, and consequently to himself; their true Interest being ever the same: And the People can never

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have any Motive to refuse just Allegiance to their Prince, whilst the Ligaments of the Constitution are preserved entire ; *that is*, whilst Parliaments are suffered to meet, and the Courts of Justice remain open, and such Force is not used against them as dissolves all Relation. All the Subjects of such a Prince highly honour, and almost worship him. He has a vast Revenue to support the Splendor and Magnificence of his Court at Home, and his Royal Dignity Abroad : He has the Power of disposing of all Offices : All Honours flow from him : His Person his Sacred, and not answerable for any Events : He cannot be accountable for any Wrong, which he is incapable of doing ; and those who do it, shall be punished by his Authority, even though it be supposed possible that they could, by false Misrepresentations, deceive him far enough to approve it.

The Examples of *Richard the Second*, who, as our Histories tell us, was deposed by the States of his Kingdom, and of the late King *James*, are no Instances to disapprove the Truth of this Assertion : For, neither of them was deposed by his People before he first deposed himself. No Champions for Tyranny, or Dogmatizers for unlimited Dominion, have yet asserted that a Prince may not resign his Crown by the Consent of his People, when he declines to hold it any longer upon the Conditions he first accepted it.

Suppose a Prince, in any limited Monarchy, should make a publick Declaration to the States of his Kingdom, that 'Whereas the Crown descended to him by the Laws of that Country, and that all the Power he was possessed of was conferred upon him by those Laws ; That he well knew that the Preservation of those Laws, which he had sworn to observe, and the general Good of his People, were the sole Considerations of his enjoying that high Dignity ; and yet, notwithstanding, he refused to hold it any longer, upon the Terms he had at first accepted it, and

and sworn to observe ; but that he now renounced that Title, and would govern them hereafter by his sole Will and Pleasure.' I say, if any should do this, the Advocates for lawless Power would do well to tell us, whether such a Prince did not make as effectual a Renunciation and Resignation of his Government, as if he disabled himself, and resigned it for his Ease, or from Satiety of Power. And if they allow that he may do all this by Words spoken to express his Intentions; I should be glad to know, from these Men of Distinctions, why he may not do it by a Series of Actions, which will more effectually discover and declare his inward Intentions, and may therefore be more depended on than any Words can possibly be ?

I call upon the Two famous Universities of this Land for an Answer ; and, till I have a full one, shall continue to believe, that what was done, in regard to the Abdication of the late King *James*, was just and necessary to be done upon the Fundamental Principles of Government ; and, that all his Successors since, have been rightful and lawful Kings and Queens of this Realm ; and I particularly glory to say, that no Prince has ever better deserv'd that high Title, than our present great and glorious Sovereign, King *GEORGE*.

I am, S I R,

Your bumble Servant,

TIMOLEON.